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**THE INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM FOR DISPLACED PERSONS  
IN GERMANY, 1945 - 48**

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**A Thesis  
Presented to  
the Faculty of the Department of  
Sociology and Social Administration  
Montana State University**

---

**In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts**

---

**by  
Marjorie Wicks Dickerman  
November 1948**

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## PREFATORY NOTE

This thesis aims primarily to give a broad picture of the problem of displaced persons in Germany. It does not pretend to be an exhaustive study of the problem, for there is source material available for extensive research in any one of the parts presented.

It is hoped that the material contained herein will interest others in the work of international welfare agencies and in the plight of displaced persons.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM . . . . .	1
Scope . . . . .	1
Definition . . . . .	3
Origin . . . . .	7
II. MANAGEMENT OF THE PROBLEM . . . . .	22
United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration . . . . .	22
Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees . . .	28
Preparatory Commission for International Refugee Organisation . . . . .	30
International Refugee Organization . . . . .	31
III. TREATMENT OF THE PROBLEM . . . . .	37
Camps . . . . .	38
German Economy . . . . .	59
Repatriation . . . . .	62
Resettlement . . . . .	66
IV. CONCLUSIONS . . . . .	77
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	82

## LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		PAGE
I.	Foreign Labor Employed in Germany at Various Dates . . . . .	12
II.	Planned Migrations of German Minorities from Various European Countries . . . . .	16
III.	Migrations of Reich-Germans to German Occupied Territories . . . . .	19
IV.	Nationality Breakdown by Age and Sex of Displaced Persons in UNRRA Centers in the United States Zone . . . . .	39
V.	Nationality Breakdown by Age and Sex of Displaced Persons in UNRRA Centers in the French Zone . . . . .	40
VI.	Nationality Breakdown by Age and Sex of Displaced Persons in UNRRA Centers in the British Zone . . . . .	41
VII.	Publications in the Displaced Persons' Camps in Germany . . . . .	43
VIII.	Employment of Displaced Persons between Sixteen and Sixty-five Years of Age . . . . .	54
IX.	Occupational Skills of Displaced Persons in the American Zone of Germany . . . . .	58
X.	Planned Resettlement Potential . . . . .	75

## LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	PAGE
I. What has happened to European D.P.s since the War's End . . . . .	76



## CHAPTER I

### STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

#### I. SCOPE

Nearly sixty million men, women and children were uprooted by World War II. They were scattered across four continents--some were only a few towns distant from their homes; others half way around the earth. In Asia, Japanese aggressors dislocated forty million<sup>1</sup> Chinese and pushed the natives and Europeans in Burma before them. The military campaigns in Malaya led to the evacuation of large sectors of population. North Africa and Abyssinia witnessed similar upheavals and in the United States over 110,000<sup>2</sup> persons of Japanese origin were moved from the Pacific coast as a safety measure.

In Europe by 1944 there were at least twelve million people who were living outside their own national territories.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Eugene M. Kulischer, Displacement of Population in Europe (Montreal: International Labour Office, 1943), p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> UNHRA, UNHRA at Work, No. 8, UNHRA'S Work for Displaced Persons in Europe (London: European Regional Office, 1946), p. 1.

Among these were prisoners of war, voluntary workers,<sup>4</sup> allied nationals deported by Nazis as slave labor, refugees from combat zones, anti-Nazi exiles, victims of persecution, inmates of concentration camps and others without homes or means of support. To establish these people in an environment where they will be socially at home and economically self-sustaining has presented a difficult international problem and one which is still far from solution.

As European countries were liberated many people returned to their homelands and others followed gradually. Nevertheless, there are about 800,000 displaced persons in Europe today who refuse to return to their countries of origin for fear of persecution and who cannot be absorbed into the war-devastated middle-European economies.<sup>5</sup> The core of the problem is to find opportunities for these displaced persons to resettle in western Europe and overseas. This thesis will consider the overall problem of European displaced persons, primarily, in

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<sup>4</sup> People who were attracted to Germany by high wages, promises of better living conditions and favors from the Party. Included here also, were the civilians of occupied countries who were stimulated to volunteer their services.

<sup>5</sup> IRO, IRO News Digest No. 16 (Washington, D. C.: United States Office for IRO, 1948), p. 2.

reference to the 531,060 non-repatriables now living in the French, British and American Zones of occupied Germany.<sup>6</sup>

## II. DEFINITION

Who are the displaced persons? The answer is confusing for the definition has varied according to the need for interpretation. With the collapse of the Nazi regime in the spring of 1945, heterogeneous crowds streamed through the ruined cities of Germany. The greatest numbers were Germans but the millions of others<sup>7</sup> were labeled "displaced persons" by the military.

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<sup>6</sup> IRO, Press Release, May 13, 1948 (Washington, D. C.: United States Office for IRO, 1948), p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> The article "Displaced Persons" in Life Magazine, May 14, 1945, gave the following classification of the approximately ten million people wandering around Germany on V-E Day: 400,000 Dutch; 570,000 Belgian; 2,100,000 French; 23,000 Danish; 15,000 Estonian; 560,000 Latvian; 600,000 Lithuanian; 1,500,000 Polish; 2,400,000 Russian; 330,000 Czech; 175,000 Hungarian; 20,000 Greek; 420,000 Italian; 6,000 Rumanian; 35,000 Bulgarian; 400,000 Yugoslavian.  
and where they were when liberated: 1,500,000 in Westphalia, Rhineland and Saar; 750,000 in Mecklenburg, Pomerania and Brandenburg; 350,000 in Silesia; 300,000 in Bohemia; 1,650,000 in Austria; 2,000,000 in Central Germany; 1,200,000 in Baden, Bavaria and Wurttemberg; 1,000,000 in Schleswig, Holstein, Oldenburg and Hannover; 2,000,000 in East Prussia.

By July 1945, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA)<sup>8</sup> teams,<sup>9</sup> under the jurisdiction and direction of military authorities, were assisting in the care and repatriation of the displaced persons. In February of 1946, UNRRA was recognized as a self-governing authority.<sup>10</sup> Then, generally speaking, a person wishing UNRRA assistance had to be in one of the following groups:<sup>11</sup>

1. United Nations national displaced as a result of war;
2. Italian national displaced as a result of war; and
3. Persons not nationals of the United Nations (e.g. neutrals, stateless and ex-enemy) who were obliged to leave their country, or place of origin or former residence by enemy action because of their race, religion or activities in favor of the United Nations.

UNRRA terminated its mission in Germany in June 1947, and the International Refugee Organization (IRO)<sup>12</sup> assumed responsibility for the remaining displaced persons in Europe.

<sup>8</sup> In this thesis referred to as UNRRA.

<sup>9</sup> UNRRA teams were groups of specialists. Each group acted as an independent unit in the management of any particular aggregation of displaced persons in an assembly center.

<sup>10</sup> UNRRA, Operational Analysis Papers, No. 13: U.N.R.R.A. Displaced Persons Operation in Europe and the Middle East (London: European Regional Office, 1946), p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>12</sup> In this thesis referred to as IRO.

IRO defined the term "displaced persons" as including those people who had been deported from or were obliged to leave the country of their nationality or of their former habitual residence because of actions of any of the following: Nazi or Fascist regimes, regimes which took part on the side of the Axis countries and Quisling or similar regimes which assisted against the United Nations.<sup>13</sup>

Not until 1947, did the people of the United States become aware of the magnitude of the displaced persons' problem. At this time, a group of prominent citizens in New York formed a Citizens' Committee on Displaced Persons. Its main aim was to secure passage of an emergency act by Congress to permit 100,000 displaced persons to enter the United States in the next four years. This committee stated that "displaced persons are taken to mean those persons displaced by war or by the enemy for reasons of race, religion or political activities in favor of the United Nations."<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> United Nations General Assembly, Constitution of the International Refugee Organization 4/284 (Lake Success: United Nations, 1947), Part I, Section B.

<sup>14</sup> Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, The Immigration of European Displaced Persons to the United States (New York: Headquarters for the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, 1947), p. 1.

A special Congressional subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs studied the problem in Europe in September and October of 1947. With them the term was "used in general for persons who have been uprooted by conditions of war and persecution and forced away from their homelands."<sup>15</sup>

The latest formal definition was given in the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 (Public Law 774, 80th Congress) which defined a displaced person as one who:<sup>16</sup>

1. Is included among those eligible for IRO assistance under the terms of the IRO Constitution;<sup>17</sup>
2. Entered Germany, Austria or Italy on or after September 1, 1939, and on or before December 22, 1945;
3. Was in the Western Zones of Germany and Austria or in Italy on January 1, 1948.

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<sup>15</sup> Report of a Special Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, Displaced Persons and the International Refugee Organization (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1947), p. 4.

<sup>16</sup> IRO, IRO News Digest No. 13 (Washington, D. C.: United States Office for IRO, 1948), p. 1.

<sup>17</sup> Under these terms, all displaced persons included in the IRO definition become the concern of IRO if they have definitely expressed valid objections to repatriation after having received adequate information concerning conditions existing in their countries of origin.

In addition, the spouse and unmarried dependent children of displaced persons eligible for admission will also be considered eligible for admission if they are otherwise qualified under immigration laws.

The preceding definitions were evolved to limit the care and services of the agencies concerned in order to serve those individuals considered most worthy. However helpful they may be in a definitive way, displaced persons are thought of by the world at large simply as people somewhere wandering around without a country to which they can return.

### III. ORIGIN

Displaced persons in Europe as we know them today are the result of various compulsory and voluntary migrations. Of the 633,690 non-repatriables under IRO care and maintenance, 531,060 are now in Germany.<sup>18</sup> Their nationality, country of last habitual residence or ethnic origin is as follows:

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<sup>18</sup> IRO, IRO Press Release, May 13, 1948 (Washington, D. C.: United States Office for IRO, 1948), p. 1.

Poland.....	162,310
Baltic States .....	143,410
Jewish (all countries) .....	157,560
Ukrainian .....	93,640
Others .....	76,770
Total .....	633,690

The origin of these displaced persons is explained by

four major population movements:

1. Mobilisation of foreign labor by Germany
2. Migrations of people of German origin
3. Transfers of Germans from the Reich
4. Flights of population from military operations.

Mobilisation of foreign labor by Germany may well be considered first among the migrations since it undoubtedly involved the greatest number of people. When war was declared in 1939, Germany was employing 24,461,000<sup>19</sup> wage-earning and salaried people. Among these were many normal, seasonal foreign workers and other nationals attracted by high salaries and good positions made available to them. The need for additional employees rapidly expanded as the war progressed.

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<sup>19</sup> Kulischer, op. cit., p. 122.



increasing demands for men by the armed forces sharpened critical shortages of labor.<sup>20</sup> Occupational requirements went through a succession of changes along with the advancing armies. Agricultural labor shortages were first. They were followed by building and construction demands, then factory needs for manpower and finally by skilled labor requirements. Since Germany had used imported labor for decades, especially for agriculture, the "know how" of using such a source was familiar.<sup>21</sup> Conquered territories became rich fields of manpower which were hastily mobilized.

To recruit civilians, plans varying from offers of well paying jobs to deportation were devised. The unemployed were practically forced to work in Germany or be deprived of unemployment benefits and even their food ration cards. When the flow of labor slackened, occupational authorities were ordered to have a given number of workers ready for transport to Germany on specified dates. The methods of procurement were never stated but the orders were always filled.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Hedwig Wachenheim, "Hitler's Transfers of Population in Eastern Europe," Foreign Affairs, 20:717, July 1942.

<sup>21</sup> Anthony Field, "Minorities on the Move," Nation, 152:434, April 12, 1941.

<sup>22</sup> Karol Thaler, "Compulsory Migration in Europe," The Contemporary Review, 162:225, October 1942.

The largest contingent of forced laborers, exceeding one million,<sup>23</sup> was of Poles brought into Germany in September 1941. Zofia was one of these.<sup>24</sup> She was enjoying an evening theatre performance when the curtain suddenly closed and it was announced that the audience would leave the building immediately. Everyone knew its significance. Those who tried to hide were farreted out. At the exits were guarded trucks. Those who attempted escape were fired on. In the transfer from the trucks to the box cars, a hurried selection was made. Those obviously too old or too young were pushed aside. Zofia was young, pretty and healthy.

Due to the National Socialists' policy of making Germany "free of the Jewish yoke," Jews were not sent to work in the Reich but slaved for Germany's war effort in forced labor camps in the occupied countries. But as the demands for workmen became more urgent, some exceptions were made. For example, some Polish, French and Belgian Jews were deported to work in the coal mines of Upper Silesia.

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<sup>23</sup> Kulischer, op. cit., p. 124.

<sup>24</sup> From the reports written by Marjorie Mickerman while working in the displaced persons camps in the American Zone of Germany for the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts in 1946-47. (March 1947 Report).

Although the German defeat at Stalingrad marked a turning point in World War II, the high mark of eight million<sup>25</sup> foreign workers was not reached until 1944. This may be accounted for by the mass deportations from eastern countries where the retreating Germans were no longer interested in maintaining economic stability and by the release of Italian prisoners of war interned in Germany after the surrender of Italy in September 1943.

Table I presents the numbers of foreign workers employed in Germany at different times according to nationality and period.

The migrations of the people of German origin were planned to obtain manpower, to Germanize the Polish areas already incorporated into the Reich and lastly, to create assets abroad by liquidating the property of the transferred people. The migrants were to replace the Poles and Jews who had been previously expelled by the Hitler regime. Planned migrations were portrayed by the German propagandists as "a return to the Fatherland." But, in reality, they were important as a means of avoiding nationality conflicts in Italy

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<sup>25</sup> Eugene K. Kulischer, Europe on the Move (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), p. 264.

TABLE I

FOREIGN LABOR EMPLOYED IN GERMANY AT VARIOUS DATES<sup>1</sup>  
(from December 1939 to January 1943)  
(in thousands)

Country		Dec. 1939	Oct. 1940	25 Sept. 1941	Aug. 1942	Jan. 1943
Poland:	Civilian Workers	80	340	1007.6	1100	1300
	War Prisoners	200	540	80	77	56
Denmark:	Civilian Workers		25	28.9	40	48
Norway:	Civilian Workers				2	2
Netherlands:	Civilian Workers	?	80-90	93	210	300
Belgium:	Civilian Workers		70	121.5	220	300
	War Prisoners		-	80	77	77
France:	Civilian Workers			48.6	190	400
	Employed War Prisoners		500	1250	1200	1150
Jugoslavia:	Civilian Workers			108.8	200	250
	War Prisoners			180	149	133
Greece:	Civilian Workers				34	34
U.S.S.R.:	Civilian Workers				1200	1500
	Employed War Prisoners				300	500
Czechoslovakia, Bohemia-Moravia (Protectorate)						
	Civilian Workers	85	107	140.1	200	200
Slovakia:	Civilian Workers	57	80	80	120	120
Italy:	Civilian Workers	30	90	271.7	350	350
Hungary:	Civilian Workers			35	29	
Bulgaria:	Civilian Workers			14.6	15	15
Rumania:	Civilian Workers				4	4
Spain:	Civilian Workers				9	9
Switzerland:	Civilian Workers				18	18
Sweden:	Civilian Workers			189.9	1	1
Finland:	Civilian Workers				1	1
TOTAL:						
	Civilian Workers	500	1100	2140	3500	4800
	Employed War Prisoners	200	1100	1500	1600	1750
APPROXIMATE TOTAL FOREIGN LABOR EMPLOYED IN GERMANY		700	2200	3700	5000	6500

<sup>1</sup> Eugene M. Kulischer, Displacement of Population in Europe.  
(Montreal: International Labour Office, 1943), p. 160.

and Russia—countries whose friendship Germany needed.<sup>26</sup>

Treaties between Germany and the countries concerned provided for various transfer schemes. For instance, the Baltic transfer in January 1940 was legalized under the German-Balt Treaty<sup>27</sup> which provided for the movement of Estonians and Latvians of German origin; the Rumanian transfer in September 1940 under the German-Soviet Treaty arranged for the movement of Germans from Bessarabia and North Bukovina.<sup>28</sup> In some cases populations were to be exchanged and in others, the movement was unilateral. An exception to the treaty approach was in German occupied Poland where the migration of ethnic Germans in 1940 was based on a government order.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Eastern Poland was occupied by the Russians. The Baltic States and parts of Rumania were also incorporated into the Soviet Union. Large German minorities had settled in all of these areas years ago. Unless these Germans were resettled, the Reich would have to either lose or defend their property rights. The Tyrolese in Italy were in a similar situation.

<sup>27</sup> E. C. Helmreich, "The Return of the Baltic Germans," The American Political Science Review, 36:711. August 1942.

<sup>28</sup> Wachenheim, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

<sup>29</sup> Eugene M. Kulischer, Displacement of Population in Europe (Montreal: International Labour Office, 1943), p. 19.

In spite of the care with which planned migrations were carried out, many who were repatriated were not "ethnic Germans" but somehow they acquired the necessary certificate of German origin and joined the departing Germans. Of these voluntary emigrants, undoubtedly some were wealthy families and professional people apprehensive of the economic and social consequences of a possible Russian occupation.

Unfortunately, the Balts<sup>30</sup> seemed not to have adjusted to their new surroundings so, after the German conquest of their countries in 1941, they asked to be allowed to return to their homeland. The request was refused. In the summer of 1942, Germans from Lithuania were returned to that country. According to official Lithuanian sources, only the genuine Germans received permission to return; the pseudo-Germans were rejected.<sup>31</sup>

In other nationality transfers, there were people like the Balts who apparently wanted a feeling of security then not available in their own country. Many sincerely felt that security would be found in Germany so cleverly had the plans been presented. Germans themselves admitted that Ukrainians

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<sup>30</sup> Refers to Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians.

<sup>31</sup> Kulischer, op. cit., p. 24.

were included with some of the settlers who moved to the Fatherland from Soviet occupied areas. Along with the Volhynian Germans came the "Dutchollander" who was definitely stated to be "as regards the language utterly degermanized."<sup>32</sup>

At the end of the war many nationals were in a predicament similar to Helga's whose native land, Lithuania, is now under a foreign power. Helga is living with her mother in a Kaserne, former permanent S.S. Barracks of the German Army, in Bavaria. Her father was a professor held in high esteem. Because of the pending Soviet occupation and the dread of restrictions under which he might find himself, he obtained the necessary certificates and took his family to Germany when the opportunity arose. He died a year later. Helga and her mother applied for permission to return to Lithuania but their false papers were refused. Now, for fear of being treated as German collaborators, they dare not return.<sup>33</sup>

And so, Hitler's repatriation plan eventually fed into the displaced persons' camps.

Table II gives the countries from which the minorities were transferred, the number that was planned for transfer, the actual number transferred and the areas into which they settled.

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<sup>32</sup> Kulischer, op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>33</sup> Taken from the reports written by Marjorie Dickerman. (November 1946 Report).

TABLE II  
 PLANNED MIGRATIONS OF GERMAN MINORITIES FROM VARIOUS  
 EUROPEAN COUNTRIES<sup>1</sup>  
 (1939-1941)

Area of origin	Number covered by the transfer scheme	Number transferred as reported in spring 1942	Main area of resettlement
Estonia			
Latvia		63,832	
Estonia and Latvia (late comers)	80,000	16,244	
Lithuania	50,000	50,471	
Volhynia			
Galicia	164,000	134,267	Incorporated
Bialystok			Polish
General Government		30,495	Provinces
Northern Bukovina			
Bessarabia		136,989	
Southern Bukovina	214,000		
Dobruja		76,765	
South Tyrol	220,000	72,000	North Tyrol (a few thousand to Carinthia and German-annexed Slovenia)
Ljubljana	16,000	13,500	German-annexed Slovenia
Serbia	1,000	423	
France	6,000	4,000	Alsace-Lorraine
Totals	751,400	599,979	

<sup>1</sup> Eugene M. Kulischer, Displacement of Population in Europe  
 (Montreal: International Labour Office, 1943), p. 25.



Transfers of Germans from the Reich to newly conquered countries was a third program which added to the number of displaced people. Of the various transfer programs, this movement was the greatest single factor in bringing about the displaced persons problem as it exists today. It not only unsettled Germans in their own country but it uprooted natives of occupied areas. Before the Germans were transplanted, living quarters had to be made ready. By detailed and expertly conceived plans, the homes and livelihoods of the natives were turned over to the in-coming German colonists.<sup>34</sup>

The Poles were probably the greatest sufferers in the Führer's colonization plan.<sup>35</sup> Among the regions selected, the Incorporated Polish Provinces of Warthengau, Danzig-West Prussia and Ciechanow were the main settlement areas. In these, not only was space made for the Reich Germans but also for the "repatriated" Germans. Repulsion and deportation of the Poles from these territories began in October 1939.<sup>36</sup> The able-bodied

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<sup>34</sup> Karol Thaler, op. cit., p. 223.

<sup>35</sup> Irene B. Tasuber, "Population Displacements in Europe," Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, 234:7, July 1944.

<sup>36</sup> Kulischer, op. cit., p. 48.

went to the Reich and the others to the General Government.<sup>37</sup> In the latter case, German authorities provided transportation but no provisions en route and abandoned the people upon their arrival. The majority literally became wards of charity overnight for in many instances they were awakened in the night<sup>38</sup> and given twenty minutes to two hours to be ready to leave. As the Poles became reconciled to German methods, they kept their vital necessities in a sack ready for immediate departure.

Table III shows the number of German immigrants from the Reich and the countries to which they migrated.

Flights of population from zones of military operations caused another large group of displaced persons. Thousands upon thousands of people shifted back and forth across Europe as armies approached. Many of these migrants went into other countries or to other parts of their own country. The invasion of Poland in September 1939 by Germany resulted in the first mass upheaval of civilian population in World War II. Bewilderment and confusion prevailed. People from western Poland and

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<sup>37</sup> German-occupied Poland not incorporated into the Reich eventually became the settlement area for Poles from the Incorporated Provinces and for the Jews from German-controlled Europe.

<sup>38</sup> Thaler, op. cit., p. 223.

TABLE III

MIGRATIONS OF REICH-GERMANS TO GERMAN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES<sup>1</sup>

Country or region	Number of German immigrants from the Reich
Alsace-Lorraine	300,000
Other parts of France	200,000
Belgium, Netherlands, Denmark, Norway	200,000
Bohemia-Moravia	400,000
Slovakia	80,000
Incorporated Polish Provinces	500,000
Central Government	300,000
Other German-occupied Eastern territories	300,000
Total	2,280,000

<sup>1</sup> Eugene M. Kulischer, Displacement of Population in Europe (Montreal: International Labour Office, 1943), p. 38.

the Danzig corridor crowded into Warsaw; others escaped into eastern Poland while thousands fled to adjoining countries.

In some instances governments evacuated civilians to safety zones in anticipation of on-coming combat.<sup>39</sup> As the invasion of Russia by the Hitler armies progressed in the summer of 1941, the Russians evacuated masses of population and removed factories in an attempt to save men and vital materials from falling into the hands of the enemy. Care was taken in controlling these movements so that an area would not become overpopulated and unable to provide food and shelter for the evacuees. Few peasants were moved; the transfers were mainly of officials, skilled workers and Jews who were well aware of the treatment of their fellowmen by the Germans.

Some evacuees were carried along with retreating armies. The Scorched Earth Policy of the armies necessitated the removal of many residents. The land was laid waste so that the enemy would have no means of subsistence as it traversed through an area. Many nationals were willing and anxious to move along with the army and others were encouraged and forced to aid the demands for manpower at home. In the final retreat of the Germans from the Baltic States in the summer of 1944,

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<sup>39</sup> Tauber, op. cit., p. 5.

pressure was exerted to get the Balts to go voluntarily to Germany. If they could not be interested, they were often coerced.<sup>40</sup> Among the most anxious ones to move were the active collaborationists and those who had fought with the German army. Some reached Germany but many were stranded in Poland. The German retreat from the Soviet Union also had its willing followers. They were the collaborationists, anti-Bolshevists and Ukrainian separatists who had sought German help in obtaining national independence.<sup>41</sup>

On the whole, in these flights of populations from combat zones, the traitors were few; the majority were innocent people who were obliged or driven by fear to leave their homeland.

The people in the displaced persons' camps in Germany today are the residue of these four major population movements.

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<sup>40</sup> Egon Kaselne, "Made in Germany," Current History, 3:128, October 1942.

<sup>41</sup> Taeuber, op. cit., p. 5.

## CHAPTER II

### MANAGEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

#### I. UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION (UNRRA)

Before hostilities ceased in World War II, it was clear that as a result of the various migrations there would be millions of persons without homes or means of support. Unless some program was initiated to care for such people, they might easily become a serious obstacle to world recovery. On June 10, 1943, the United States Department of State placed before forty-three governments a draft agreement for the creation of an international relief agency to be concerned with the civilian relief problems in war areas. This agency was to be named the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, the first agency of its kind in world history.<sup>1</sup>

One of the recommendations made at the first meeting of the UNRRA Council in November 1943 was that the Director-

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<sup>1</sup> Herbert H. Lehman, "Relief and Rehabilitation," Foreign Policy Reports, 19:102-3, July 15, 1943.

General discuss and plan with member governments<sup>2</sup> for "administration of orderly and effective measures for the return to their homes of prisoners, exiles and other displaced persons."

Furthermore,

the Director General should establish the earliest possible contact with the military authorities of the United Nations with a view to concerting plans for dealing in a uniform and closely coordinated manner with any large groups of displaced persons which may be found in any liberated or occupied territory on the entry of the forces of the United Nations.<sup>3</sup>

Each of the member governments participated in UNRRA's policy-making council. The Council met six times<sup>4</sup> during the life of UNRRA. A Central Committee composed of the representatives of nine governments made emergency decisions between

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<sup>2</sup> The member governments were: Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, China, Columbia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippine Commonwealth, Poland, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Russia, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

<sup>3</sup> UNRRA Council Resolution No. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Twice at Atlantic City, New Jersey and once each at Washington, D. C.; Montreal, Canada; London, England and Geneva, Switzerland.

Council sessions. The membership of the Central Committee was as follows: five of the principal supplying countries--The United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and Brazil; two of the invaded countries--the Soviet Union and France neither of which asked for aid though two of the most devastated Soviet republics did; and two of the relief recipients--China and Yugoslavia. The Central Committee met at Washington UNHRA Headquarters on call of the chairman.<sup>5</sup>

The Director General<sup>6</sup> with staff assistants administered the UNHRA program. In each country where UNHRA operated, their program was designated a Mission and a chief of Mission was appointed by the Director General. The displaced persons program in Germany was administered through camps and assembly centers. UNHRA's staff was both multi-national and multi-lingual. At its peak it totaled over 12,000,<sup>7</sup> people exclusive of local employees, representing forty nations.

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<sup>5</sup> UNHRA, The Story of U.N.R.R.A. (Washington, D. C.: UNHRA Headquarters), p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> In the life of UNHRA there were three Director Generals, all Americans.

<sup>7</sup> UNHRA, op. cit., p. 7.



UNRRA was financed by the member governments. Each member government which had not been occupied by the enemy was asked to contribute two percent of its national income for relief supplies and services. All countries, invaded or not, were asked to give proportionately to the expenses of running the agency. Non-member governments, private persons and voluntary agencies generously gave money, supplies or services. The three largest governmental contributors were: the United States, \$2,700,000,000 (about 70%); the United Kingdom, \$624,650,000; and Canada, \$138,738,000.<sup>8</sup>

UNRRA's approach to relief was to put first things first. "First things in any devastated area are food and clothing and shelter and medicine, for together they spell the difference between life and death for a man, a village, a town or a country."<sup>9</sup> Its approach to rehabilitation was "to put back into running order those segments of a nation's economy which were necessary to carry out the relief program, and to give each country and its people some of the tools to begin to help themselves."<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> UNRRA, op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

Although it was decided early that the care and repatriation of the displaced population should be a subordinate and not a main function of UNRRA,<sup>10</sup> as early as July 1944, specialists<sup>11</sup> under UNRRA's supervision were attached to Supreme Headquarters American Expeditionary Forces<sup>12</sup> as liaison with the military authorities. SHAEF and UNRRA entered into an agreement in November 1944 in which UNRRA was to provide skilled personnel to administer displaced persons' relief. These UNRRA personnel operated under the direction of the military and relieved the demands on the armed forces.<sup>13</sup> The SHAEF agreement remained in effect until July 1945 when SHAEF was dissolved and its displaced persons responsibilities were temporarily turned over to a Combined Displaced Persons' Executive.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Dore Ferenxzi, "Relocation of Europeans" Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 237-9:175, January 1945.

<sup>11</sup> Including doctors, nurses, welfare and supply personnel, transport and other administrative officers.

<sup>12</sup> Referred to as SHAEF in this thesis.

<sup>13</sup> George Soloveytschik, "After the Armies—UNRRA," Survey Graphic, 33:334, July 1944.

<sup>14</sup> UNRRA, UNRRA at Work No. 8, op. cit., p. 9.

By this time, conditions were becoming more stabilized in western Germany. UNHRA was gradually building its organization to the place where it could assume direct responsibility for the work in the displaced persons' camps. By February 1946, the German Zone Agreements were signed between UNHRA and the military.<sup>15</sup> Under these, UNHRA assumed full responsibility of running the assembly centers, of carrying out the preparations for repatriating the displaced persons from these centers and of operating an Enquiry and Tracing Bureau. The military authorities agreed to continue providing transport facilities and to furnish shelter, food and other basic supplies. But for a number of reasons, UNHRA did not meet with the approval of its supporting governments, particularly of its chief donor, the United States, so that support was withdrawn and UNHRA's displaced persons' operations were concluded on June 30, 1947.

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<sup>15</sup> British Zone Agreement signed November 27, 1945.  
French Zone Agreement signed February 18, 1946.  
American Zone Agreement signed February 19, 1946.

## II. INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE ON REFUGEES

(IOCR)<sup>16</sup>

In 1938, at the suggestion of the late President Roosevelt, a conference was called in Avian, France, to discuss and devise plans to help refugees from Germany.<sup>17</sup> As a result, thirty-two nations took part in the formation of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. It had a two-fold function--to replace the chaotic conditions of exodus from Germany by conditions of orderly emigration, and to seek to develop opportunities for settlement in other parts of the world.<sup>18</sup>

The headquarters of the Committee were established in London. A member of the British Cabinet, Lord Winterton, was designated as its chairman and an American, Mr. Robert Pell, as director. The financial support for its operations was given equally by the United States and the United Kingdom while its administrative budget was supported by a varying

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<sup>16</sup> In this thesis referred to as IOCR.

<sup>17</sup> "Evian Conference," Catholic World, 147:618, August 1938.

<sup>18</sup> Myron C. Taylor, "The Importance of the Refugee Problem," Vital Speeches, 5:157-8, December 15, 1938.

list of governments numbering as high as thirty-six at one time.<sup>19</sup>

Prior to the declaration of war, France, the Netherlands, Denmark and Switzerland provided temporary refuge for people fleeing from Germany and German satellite countries. Plans were being made to find permanent homes for these people when World War II broke out.<sup>20</sup> Action programs of the ICGR were suspended at that time.

In July of 1946 its post-war plans for resettling the stateless were expanded to include the resettlement of persons who were not strictly stateless but whose return to their homelands would be risky for political reasons. In anticipation that IRO would take over its functions, this organization was liquidated on June 30, 1947.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Norman Bentwick, "Evian Conference and After," Fortnightly Review, 150:287, September 1938.

<sup>20</sup> David M. Popper, "International Aid to German Refugees," Foreign Policy Reports, 14:194, November 1, 1938.

<sup>21</sup> Report of a Sub-Special Committee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, op. cit., p. 13.

III. PREPARATORY COMMISSION FOR INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE  
ORGANIZATION (PCIRO)<sup>22</sup>

The General Assembly of the United Nations in February 1946 recognized the urgency and the international character of the refugee and the displaced persons problem. In a resolution, the General Assembly referred the problem to the Economic and Social Council for examination. After a thorough investigation, the Council drafted a constitution for an International Refugee Organization. The constitution was approved by the General Assembly on December 15, 1946.<sup>23</sup>

At this same time sanction was given for the formation of a Preparatory Commission for advance planning until IRO could be organized. This interim agency which was known as PCIRO became effective on the accession of eight governments. Any government subscribing to the IRO Constitution was entitled to send a representative to this Commission regardless of whether it had completed ratification. PCIRO, as a council of representatives from the member governments, formulated the

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<sup>22</sup> In this thesis referred to as PCIRO.

<sup>23</sup> United Nations General Assembly, 4/284, op. cit., Annex III.

basic policies governing IRO. Although PCIRO was set up only as a planning body, it was thrust into action as an operating agency on July 1, 1947, when it assumed the functions of UNRRA and ICCH.<sup>24</sup>

#### IV. INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANIZATION (IRO)

IRO was formally established as a fully operative specialized agency of the United Nations on August 30, 1948.<sup>25</sup>

According to the United Nations Charter, Chapter XI, Article 57:

1. The various specialized agencies, established by intergovernmental agreement and having wide international responsibilities, as defined in their basic instruments, in economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related fields shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of Article 63.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Report of a Sub-Special Committee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>25</sup> New York Times, August 31, 1948.

<sup>26</sup> United Nations Charter, Chapter XI, Article 63:

1. The Economic and Social Council may enter into agreements with any of the agencies referred to in Article 57, defining the terms on which the agency concerned shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations. Such agreements shall be subject to approval by the General Assembly.
2. It may coordinate the activities of the specialized agencies through consultation with and recommendation to such agencies and through recommendations to the General Assembly and to the Members of the United Nations.

2. Such agencies thus brought into relationship with the United Nations are hereinafter referred to as specialised agencies.

Although its constitution had been approved previously by the General Assembly of the United Nations, it could not come into being until fifteen members of the United Nations, whose cumulative contributions amounted to seventy-five percent of IRO's operational budget, had unconditionally ratified its constitution. Denmark was the last of the necessary fifteen unconditional signers.<sup>27</sup>

The major operational activities of IRO, including care, maintenance, repatriation and resettlement of displaced persons were carried on by FCIRO from July 1, 1947 until IRO came into existence.<sup>28</sup> Although formal establishment of IRO brought about few operational changes, it had important effects on the financial status of the organization. During FCIRO, only

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<sup>27</sup> Countries which have signed the IRO Constitution are: \*Argentina, \*Australia, \*Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, \*Canada, \*China, \*Denmark, \*Dominican Republic, \*France, \*Guatemala, Honduras, \*Iceland, Liberia, \*Netherlands, \*New Zealand, \*Norway, Panama, Peru, Philippines, \*United Kingdom, \*United States, and Venezuela.

The asterisks denote countries which have adhered unconditionally to the Constitution and therefore are contributors to the operational budget.

<sup>28</sup> IRO, News Digest No. 15 (Washington, D. C.: United States Office for IRO, 1948), p. 1.



voluntary advances against contributions by its members were received but now IRO can require each member nation to pay its contribution in order to retain its vote in the General Council of IRO. Accordingly, the Council, basing its determinations on the resettlement of 800,000 persons by June 30, 1950, adopted a total budget of \$309,636,270.<sup>29</sup>

At the first meeting of the General Council of IRO<sup>30</sup> in Geneva on September 13, 1948, Mr. William Tuck, an American, was elected the Director General by the member nations. The Executive Committee was appointed by the General Council. It consists of representatives of Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, France, Norway, United States, United Kingdom, and Venezuela and is under the chairmanship of M. Jean Desy, delegate of Canada and the Canadian Ambassador to Italy.

The General Council is the ultimate policy-making body of IRO. Each member nation is permitted one representative and alternates and advisors as may seem necessary. During the first three years of the Organization, the General Council is to convene in regular session not less than twice a year and after that not less than once a year. The sessions are called

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<sup>29</sup> IRO, News Digest No. 16, op. cit., p. 2.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., pp. 1-3.

by the Executive Committee. Special sessions may be convened whenever the Executive Committee deems it necessary, and within thirty days after a request for a special session is received by the Director General from one-third of the members of the Council.<sup>31</sup>

The Executive Committee is responsible for implementation of policy decisions made by the Council and, between sessions of the Council, makes emergency policy decisions to be passed on to the Director General for his guidance. Emergency decisions of the Committee are subject to reconsideration by the Council. This Committee is made up of representatives of nine member nations of IRO elected by the General Council for two year terms. The Committee meets, normally, twice a month at the call of the Chairman or whenever any representative of a member of the Committee shall request the convening of a meeting. The Executive Committee has the prerogative of inspecting IRO camps and assembly centers and, upon completion of such inspections, may give such instructions to the Director General as are deemed necessary.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> United Nations General Assembly, 4/284, op. cit., Article 6.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., Article 7.

Although IRO is currently concerned with the care and maintenance of the displaced persons now living in camps, its primary objective is to resettle these people where they can be self-sustaining and content. As a matter of policy,<sup>33</sup> IRO is encouraging the displaced persons to return to the country of their origin. But the majority of the displaced persons in Germany now refuse to go back because of well-founded fears of persecution. Perhaps an excerpt of Herrina's letter of August 1948<sup>34</sup> written in the American Zone of Germany can best portray such anxiety:

Here in Europe, the situation is very hard, but we hope that perhaps the ignorance can't be long time. Once more it must be clear, and I have anxious, that with our Russian 'friends' cannot be some peaceful agreement because we know it means Communism when he starts to govern. Where one has not felt it by herself one cannot understand. Before occupation of our country, Latvia, all Latvians were told that better Russian occupation than German but after one year, when Russians left our Latvia what have we seen? In Latvia was no one family which had not lost one or more dependents or relatives or whole family was deported to Siberia or they were killed and why-----only that they could not be like communists. I could tell you different stories about what I have personally seen and outlived but that can be for you perhaps tedious.

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<sup>33</sup> United Nations General Assembly, 4/284, op. cit., Article 2.

<sup>34</sup> Letter received by Marjorie Dickerman.

The main job with which IRO is now faced is that of resettling the displaced persons in foreign countries. It has made some progress since it was established in August 1948 but a tremendous task remains to be done if IRO is to complete its assignment by June 1950, the date its budget terminates. There are still 800,000 displaced persons to be taken care of by IRO.

## CHAPTER III

### TREATMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Men, women and children,—bewildered, hungry and hopelessly weary,—were trudging the highways and crowding the streets already filled with debris from air raids even before V-E day. The great majority of these people wanted to go home. However, some semblance of order had to be established before this moving mass could be offered assistance. Allied military personnel and UNRRA spearhead teams were assigned the task. Any accommodations immediately available were used for assembly centers and transit camps. Overcrowding was inescapable. The problems of sanitation, water and food supplies were overwhelming.<sup>1</sup> But gradually minimum requirements were met and repatriation was under way.

The dispersion of the displaced persons has been slow, much slower than anticipated. Meanwhile efforts have been made to care for them in camps, to assist them in repatriation, to place them in the German economy and lastly, to resettle them in other countries.

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<sup>1</sup> UNRRA, UNRRA at Work, No. 8, op. cit., p. 12.

## I. CAMPS

Camps were established as the first step in caring for these displaced people. The physical aspects of the hurriedly established camps varied as much as the character of the populations sheltered by them.

The following 'on the spot' accounts<sup>2</sup> and Tables IV, V and VI will bear this out.

"Driving north of Munich we soon came on S. S. Kaserne. It had been one of Hitler's prize Storm Trooper camps but now housed around 8,000 displaced persons of Ukrainian, Latvian and Lithuanian origin and Stateless, primarily, plus a small group of Estonians.

Had we passed the camp for the first time at night, we might have thought it to be a huge apartment house built around a court but we first passed it in the day time so we were not so disillusioned. The broken window panes loosely held bits of rags to keep out the winter wind. The grayish-green camouflaging of the outside walls was accentuated by the naked undercement which had been exposed by shrapnel. A D.P.<sup>3</sup> policeman, dressed in a G.I. helmet, a long jacket made from the

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<sup>2</sup> The accounts are taken from reports written by Marjorie Dickerman.

<sup>3</sup> Commonly used to signify a displaced person.

TABLE IV

NATIONALITY BREAKDOWN BY AGE AND SEX OF DISPLACED PERSONS  
IN UNHRA CENTERS IN THE UNITED STATES ZONE<sup>1</sup>  
(Figures as at 8 May 1946)

Nationality	Males 10-17	Males 18	Females 10-17	Females 18	0-1	1-5	6-9	Total
Estonian	734	5,183	696	7,003	262	1,166	769	15,813
French	42	216	26	201	9	48	44	586
German Jews	35	495	30	527	45	16	15	1,163
Hungarian	29	367	7	93	19	18	8	541
Hungarian Jews	479	1,514	352	1,172	29	63	112	3,721
Jews (nationality unknown)	1,196	9,487	848	6,355	279	403	289	18,857
Latvian	1,978	14,813	1,991	18,024	709	3,370	2,577	43,462
Lithuanian	1,289	12,632	1,323	8,491	543	2,237	1,468	27,983
Polish	4,956	75,350	4,864	58,327	7,337	9,058	5,354	165,246
Polish Jews	974	10,641	783	7,198	299	265	281	20,441
Russian	176	2,859	207	1,753	120	252	202	5,569
Turkish	40	963	30	213	34	62	34	1,376
U.S.A.	87	317	90	319	9	64	66	952
Yugoslavia	164	4,205	321	1,985	164	361	293	7,493
Unknown and undetermined citizenship	1,138	17,764	1,129	11,506	955	1,762	1,282	35,536
Totals*	13,437	153,007	12,787	123,892	10,880	19,269	12,901	351,173

\* These totals include the nationality groups of less than 500 which have not been listed.

<sup>1</sup> UNHRA, Report of Central Headquarters for Germany, Displaced Persons Operations (Washington, D. C.: April, 1946), p. 67.

TABLE V

NATIONALITY BREAKDOWN BY AGE AND SEX OF DISPLACED PERSONS  
IN UNRRA CENTERS IN THE FRENCH ZONE<sup>1</sup>  
(Figures as at 27 April 1946)

Nationality	Not broken down	Males	Females	Children 6-14	Children under 6	Total
Austrian	124	416	564	155	160	1,419
Estonian	94	227	351	51	67	790
Hungarian	72	518	429	80	156	1,255
Latvian	221	689	936	234	199	2,279
Lithuanian	737	875	661	164	172	2,609
Polish	3,667	18,303	12,476	1,743	2,767	38,956
Rumanian	95	222	171	44	63	595
Yugoslav	33	371	237	78	66	785
Unknown and un- determined citizenship	260	1,091	933	146	144	2,574
Totals*	5,539	23,620	17,636	2,925	4,023	53,743

\* These totals include the nationality groups of less than 500 which have not been listed.

<sup>1</sup> UNRRA, Report of Central Headquarters for Germany, Displaced Persons Operations (Washington, D. C.: April 1946), p. 68.



TABLE VI

NATIONALITY BREAKDOWN BY AGE AND SEX OF DISPLACED PERSONS  
IN UNRRA CENTERS IN THE BRITISH ZONE<sup>1</sup>

(Figures as at 27 April 1946)

Nationality	0-2	2-6	6-14	14-18 Male	14-18 Female	18-45 Male	18-45 Female	45 Male	45 Female	Total
Brazilian	20	22	23	31	35	223	171	43	32	600
Czech	29	27	25	16	11	368	211	35	20	742
Dutch	76	68	100	44	33	394	295	94	81	1,185
Estonian	233	514	897	299	305	3,290	4,096	593	1,127	11,354
Hungarian	52	38	111	94	59	1,102	1,138	76	47	2,717
Latvian	866	2,352	3,261	739	778	21,032	10,828	2,803	3,423	46,082
Lithuanian	699	1,516	2,295	609	673	8,680	5,239	1,718	1,608	22,977
Polish	13,423	7,763	12,845	6,264	5,059	103,595	64,491	13,519	10,588	237,547
Rumanian	67	84	91	40	43	1,697	1,117	97	67	3,303
Yugoslav	310	325	437	76	81	4,783	1,486	358	270	8,128
Unknown and undetermined citizenship	912	604	1,136	270	356	5,946	3,745	1,479	856	15,504
Totals*	16,834	13,674	21,464	8,607	7,549	152,205	93,883	21,212	18,457	353,885

\* These totals include the nationality groups of less than 500 which have not been listed.

<sup>1</sup> UNRRA, Report of Central Headquarters for Germany, Displaced Persons Operations (Washington, D. C.: April, 1946), p. 69.

rabbit fur rugs used by the German motorized corps and non-descript boots, stood at the entrance to the court to raise the large wooden bars for those who presented official papers for entrance. The once smart parade ground for the high stepping troopers was a water soaked area with a few trees stretching their scrawny limbs along the cement walks connecting the buildings. The field house within the enclosure, now being used to house UNRRA trucks and supplies, helped us to realize what a complete and up to date training center it had once been.

Inside were large, dark corridors which in their prime would have rivaled those of the Pentagon even in length—one stretched for six-tenths of a mile. Windows here had been boarded up for the panes had been removed to the living quarters. A flashlight kept us from slipping on the icy stairs where rain had come through the damaged walls. Toilet and bath facilities were dilapidated. Much of the plumbing was "kaput" and the floors were covered with ice. Lucky was the family unit which had an eight by ten foot room to itself. In the more spacious fifteen by twenty foot rooms, three and four families were separated by ragged blankets or patched curtains. Room furnishings were makeshift. Every room had its tiers of sleeping bunks made habitable by the efficiency of DDT. Every conceivable contraption was seen substituting

for stoves. For chimneys, pipes were propped through broken windows. A brightly embroidered handkerchief or a gay child's drawing occasionally lightened the drabness.

Schleissheim was really deep in the mud of Europe. The one story buildings south of the super, practically undamaged airfield had been barracks for the mighty Luftwaffe. Beautiful Norway pine surrounded and protected the camp. The buildings had not been damaged and living conditions were good in comparison to other camps. Although there were over 5,000 people here, there was only one family per room. The bath and toilet facilities were in separate buildings and hot water was available three times a week for bathing. However, this meant a bath once in fifteen days per person and on schedule.

Two-thirds of the population were of Russian stock. The older folk had escaped into Bulgaria after World War I and the younger were their offspring. There were a few Kaluzks. The other third was Ukrainian. All of them had been brought to Germany as slave labor. The two nationalities were separated by a muddy thoroughfare which was designated as the dividing line for there was intense hatred between them.

Northeast of Weiden and three miles from the Czech border is Flossenbürg. It was built and first used in 1938 for political prisoners of the Reich. As time went on forced laborers from other countries were interned there and later

prisoners of war to work in the nearby gravel pits. Seventy-three thousand people of different nationalities died in this camp during the war. The greatest numbers were Poles and Jugoslavs.

The surrounding country is beautiful with rolling woodlands. Former German officers' alpine cottages covered the hill overlooking the camp which harbored 8,500 Poles of peasant background. Only two of these cottages remained open for USMKA personnel. With this approach, our first trip through a converted concentration camp was somewhat of a shock. Although the barbed wire was no longer charged, it still dribbled off many of the high supporting poles which surrounded the compound. Hooks still remained on the surprisingly short posts from which prisoners were hung who did not conform to the regulations of the camp. The battered wall which stopped the shots of the firing squads was obvious. The high retaining wall in the back of the camp faced a small building with a high smokestack. Above the door was written "Disinfection." Evidences of pyres surrounding the inadequate crematorium were most impressive. In such a setting, we wondered how these ex-labor camp internees kept sane.

Other types of establishments were used as centers for concentrating the homeless migrants. Near Neustadt a Count's hunting castle, at Regensburg the Herman Goering

housing development, at Marktrechwitz a portion of the village, in fact, any place that could be made habitable for large groups of people was converted into a camp."

The camps differed in outward appearance and in population composition but they were all operated much the same way and offered limited opportunities for work and recreation. Their programs were modified somewhat by the cultural patterns of the people concerned. Once a camp was established, all efforts were concentrated toward making the establishment a going organization with all taking part in the life of the camp community.<sup>4</sup>

Self-government was part of the camp plan.<sup>5</sup> The typical arrangement was to form committees for general camp management as well as for specific activities. The committees operated subject to the advice and ultimate control of UNRRA and later PCIRD. Leadership from within the group was encouraged. As soon as it seemed advisable, more and more responsibility was put upon the group<sup>6</sup> until the displaced persons elected, by

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<sup>4</sup> UNRRA, UNRRA at Work No. 8, op. cit., pp. 13-15.

<sup>5</sup> Department of State, The Displaced-Persons Problem, Publication 2899, European Series 26 (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1947), p. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Philip Stushan, "Mass Employment for Displaced Persons," Queens Quarterly, 54:365, August 1947.

secret ballot, the camp governing body, generally referred to as the camp council. The council consisted of representatives from the functional committees of the camp such as the committees for security, health and sanitation, recreation, and food distribution. Usually the council appointed a camp leader who, acting as an administrator with his assistants, was responsible to the various functional committees. In some instances, the camp leader as well as the council was elected by direct popular vote. The terms of office were for one year or less.

Although there was considerable freedom in the self-government of the camps, UNHRA and PCIRO had the responsibility for the actual administration of the camps as well as the supervision and the overall control.<sup>7</sup> On June 15, 1948, PCIRO issued Provisional Order No. 74 which defined the policies and procedures for the establishment of community self-administration by displaced persons and of working relationships between the Organization and National Groups of Displaced Persons. The order became operative immediately upon receipt in all the field offices of PCIRO. The aims of the order were to place full responsibility on displaced persons for running their own affairs

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<sup>7</sup> Report of a Sub-Special Committee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, op. cit., p. 36.

and operating their own camps, to standardize as far as practicable the structure and system of community self-administration within each area of operation and to establish formal operating relationships at the field level between PCIRO and national groups at the request of the latter.

The order stated that:

PCIRO does not however abrogate the responsibility which it has to the Preparatory Commission and the General Council for the welfare of displaced persons and refugees and for the control of property and funds. In all progress of self-administration therefore, PCIRO must continue to exercise the right and duty of supervision and overall control.<sup>8</sup>

Freedom of speech and of the press was also stressed in the camp programs. The displaced persons were encouraged to publish their own newspapers and magazines. Such publications were under basic restrictions related to the maintenance of military security and interests of Allied Military Government. Permission had to be obtained from the military by the publishers prior to publication.<sup>9</sup>

Table VII shows the numbers of displaced persons' publications and the languages in which they are printed.

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<sup>8</sup> PCIRO, Provisional Order No. 74 (Geneva: PCIRO Headquarters, 1948), p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Report of a Sub-Special Committee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, op. cit., p. 37.

TABLE VII  
PUBLICATIONS IN THE DISPLACED PERSONS' CAMPS IN GERMANY<sup>1</sup>

Language	Newspapers	Magazines
Estonian	2	3
Jewish	4	13
Jugoslavian	1	1
Kalauk	1	0
Latvian	3	5
Lithuanian	4	2
Russian	3	1
Ukranian	5	5
Polish	2	1
Multilingual	1	0
Total	26	31

<sup>1</sup> Report of a Special Committee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, Displaced Persons and the International Refugee Organization (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1947), p. 38.



There were many teachers and university professors within the ranks who welcomed opportunities to teach again so that practically all of the camps had elementary schools and the larger ones had secondary schools.<sup>9</sup> At first, there were no text books so the teachers conducted training courses without references. Any remnant of an applicable book was read by one to the others as they copied down the text on precious paper furnished by voluntary agencies. Later, through a printing program, a supply of school books was obtained. The text of the books was approved by the national governments concerned. Technical and vocational courses were conducted in most camps.<sup>10</sup> Several German universities were opened to displaced persons but many more applied than could be accommodated.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Department of State, op. cit., p. 19.

<sup>10</sup> Stueben, op. cit., p. 363.

<sup>11</sup> UNRRA, UNRRA at Work No. 8, op. cit., p. 19.

Education and youth movements seemed to go together.

America has many youth organizations but in these camps there were only two, the Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides.<sup>12</sup> These

movements belonged to World Associations when operated in displaced persons' home countries. Although both the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides sent representatives to visit the troops in the camps, the troops were not considered eligible for World Association membership because they were in an occupied country without a recognized Government. This was very disturbing to the young people and their leaders, for it was deeply imbedded in their thinking that these movements are part of a world-wide brother and sisterhood.

The displaced persons' Boy Scout troops were permitted to send delegates to the International Jamboree in France in 1947 and the International Swiss Chalet permitted one displaced persons' guide to camp there in 1948. The problem will dissolve itself when these people are either repatriated or resettled in countries where these organizations can be recognized. In the meantime, it is just another factor causing frustrations among displaced youths.

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

Some of the finest instrumental and vocal concerts in the world could be heard in the assembly halls of the displaced persons' camps. One of the most popular dance bands in Germany was in the displaced persons' camp at Wildflecken. Its members were survivors of Buchenwald. The magicians and the acrobats did their part in the field of entertainment too and there was full participation in the song and dance festivals.<sup>13</sup>

Almost every center had its sewing room and machine, carpentry, woodworking and cobbler's shops. Aside from producing badly needed goods, these offered vocational training.<sup>14</sup> One day I visited a sewing room. An old coat was being ripped apart and the threads carefully put aside to be used in sewing the garment wrong side out. Felt belly bands which had been used in the German army were dyed with natural dyes and were being made into attractive women's hats. The good parts of worn garments were being cut for children's clothes. Scraps that had any warmth were being made into blankets by sewing them together with bits of yarn ripped from overly worn sweaters. Other pieces of yarn were being made into multicolored mittens

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<sup>13</sup> UNRRA, UNRRA at Work No. 8, op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>14</sup> UNRRA, The Story of U.N.R.R.A., op. cit., p. 39.

with beautiful national designs. Similar salvage operations could be seen in any of the shops and workrooms.

Religious holidays were faithfully kept. In fact, when one was working with these people, it seemed as if every day was such a day. The many holidays for each nationality when added together made an imposing list for the year. Chapels were erected or converted from other buildings and altars were improvised and decorated with the best of the products from the workshops.<sup>15</sup>

With the establishment of the camps, workers were needed to help in operational phases. Many displaced persons turned willing hands toward making the centers livable, others presented their qualifications as doctors and nurses and helped set up and operate hospitals and medical and dental clinics, others served as teachers, clerical help, kitchen workers, drivers, interpreters, guards and policemen. For some, work was humiliating after the severe labor of the Nazi camps from which they had suddenly been released. In a few cases there was a long period of readjustment.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Department of State, The Displaced-Persons Problem, op. cit., p. 19.

<sup>16</sup> Report of a Sub-Special Committee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, op. cit., p. 35.

In setting up and running such communities, there were not enough full-time jobs to go around nor could any vital or continuing jobs be recognized and assigned which might hinder repatriation. However, it was early realized that these people did need to be constructively busy if any kind of contentment was to be manifested in the camps. UNRRA undertook to develop a short-term program of vocational training and employment.<sup>17</sup> Training courses were offered as preparation for repatriation and were planned to last not more than sixty days. Immediate employment was given by the military authorities, by UNRRA and in the German civilian economy on projects approved by the army. These same policies prevailed under IRO as far as practicable.

Table VIII points out the numbers of displaced persons employed and the numbers taking vocational training in the American Zone.

Those working for the military or in the German civilian economy were paid from the burgemeister's payroll in Marks.<sup>18</sup> For services in the United States Army for a forty-eight hour

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<sup>17</sup> UNRRA, UNRRA at Work No. 8, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

<sup>18</sup> Stuchen, op. cit., p. 365.

TABLE VIII  
EMPLOYMENT OF DISPLACED PERSONS BETWEEN SIXTEEN AND  
SIXTY-FIVE YEARS OF AGE IN THE AMERICAN ZONE<sup>1</sup>  
(as of July 1947)

Sex	Number in camps	Number of employables	Number of unemployed	Number of employed	Number taking vocational training
Female	155,262	81,158	33,234	35,289	5,581
Male	230,250	123,214	11,163	87,750	8,123
Totals	385,512	204,372	44,397	123,039	13,704

<sup>1</sup> IRO, PC IRO Report, July 31, 1947 (Washington, D. C.:  
United States Office for IRO, 1947), p. 2.

week, the displaced person received the standard German wage rate of 120-150 Marks per month.<sup>19</sup> In addition, the army allowed a displaced person one meal a day as was allowed a German civilian employee. Only those living near military installations could accept army work for a displaced person had no German ration card and could not live on one meal a day of the caliber provided by the army for such employees.

In the early days when there was nothing to be bought in the German markets, amenity supplies were more valued than foreign currency. So UNRRA reimbursed its Class II employees<sup>20</sup> with increased food rations of certain types, special clothing allocations, better living quarters and certificates of efficiency.<sup>21</sup> Those displaced persons employed by IRO received, in addition to board, lodging and FI privileges, a monthly wage of eight to ten dollars.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> One hundred Marks was equivalent to one American dollar.

<sup>20</sup> Class I employee was internationally recruited. Class II employee was a displaced person.

<sup>21</sup> UNRRA, UNRRA at Work No. 8, op. cit., p. 16.

<sup>22</sup> Part was paid in scrip and part in Marks.

The various workshops in the camps were not only places to keep people constructively occupied and to give vocational training, they also became sources of revenue for the workers. The chief customers were the eager wives of the American personnel and Class I employees. The Estonian camp at Amberg had a leather shop where beautiful tooling was done and a glove maker for the former nobility of Europe would make milady a pair of fine gloves providing the client furnished the leather. The price—cigarettes, chocolate bars, soap or coffee in varying amounts. The Mark would buy little but the commodities were good to barter with on the German market. Furthermore, displaced persons were denied the right to hold United States currency or occupation scrip except in so far as they were paid for their services as Class II employees.<sup>23</sup>

At the Ukrainian camp in Weiden an expertly handmade luncheon set could be had for the following: the linen for one and half packages of cigarettes, the handwork for five packages and the embroidery thread for three hundred Marks. In a Lithuanian camp near Memmingen, knitting with the most intricate of designs was made to order if the yarn was provided by the

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<sup>23</sup> Report of a Sub-Special Committee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, 92. cit., p. 44.



buyer. Here as in the Ukrainian camp, one woman was in charge of handling the orders and distributing the work to the knitters in their living quarters. Almost every camp excelled in one or more crafts and there was great pride in the products turned out. From the standpoint of the morale of the individuals it was important to have a market for their goods.

Table IX indicates the occupational abilities of the displaced persons in the American Zone of Germany.

Providing adequate food rations for the camps has been a difficult problem. During UNRRA, the food ration was maintained between 1800 and 2000 calories.<sup>24</sup> per day per person with 200 calories extra a day for Jews.<sup>25</sup> IRO reduced the ration to 1550 calories because of the limited budget on which it had to operate.<sup>26</sup> However, as soon as a person shows symptoms of malnutrition, as skin eruptions, he is given an extra caloric allowance until it clears up. By rotating extra rations all of the camp people are kept in a fairly healthy condition according to Dr. L. Coigny, IRO's chief health officer.

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<sup>24</sup> Typical food for a day in a displaced persons camp was: coffee and dry bread for breakfast; macaroni floating in hot canned tomatoes, dry bread, half a canned pear swimming in watered syrup and coffee for dinner; dry bread and tea for supper.

<sup>25</sup> Department of State, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>26</sup> PCIRO, Provisional Order No. 61, op. cit., p. 2.

TABLE IX  
OCCUPATIONAL SKILLS OF DISPLACED PERSONS IN THE  
AMERICAN ZONE OF GERMANY  
(May 1947)<sup>1</sup>

Job titles	Number of men	Number of women
Administrative, clerical and commercial	10,393	9,302
Mining, chemical and processing	443	119
Construction and maintenance	8,944	343
Agriculture, forestry, dairy and food processing	13,947	8,279
Health and Sanitation	2,007	4,978
Communications, transportation and supply	9,391	942
Special services	22,811	25,342
Professional and arts (other than health and sanitation)	9,467	7,307
Metal trades	1,915	162
Miscellaneous processing	3,947	2,664
Others	12,885	12,445
Totals	95,050	71,883

<sup>1</sup> Adapted from Report of a Special Committee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, Displaced Persons and the International Refugee Organization (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947), p. 85.

But, in spite of the many communal camp activities, of the efforts to keep the people gainfully occupied and of the attempts to care for their health and to meet their food requirements, the spark that keeps a community wholesome is missing--the privilege of earning one's own living.

## II. GERMAN ECONOMY

A basic and most challenging problem in administering the displaced persons program is that of deciding who is and who is not entitled to assistance. For those who are not entitled, the alternatives are to return to one's native country or eke out an existence from the German economy. Some displaced persons, by choice, prefer the German economy to life in the displaced persons' camps or repatriation. Between two and three hundred thousand displaced persons are estimated to be living on the German economy. A large proportion of these people are believed to be eligible for United Nations assistance and care but having found satisfactory employment and living conditions they desire to live on their own.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Department of State, op. cit., p. 17.

All displaced persons were screened to determine their eligibility for assistance and to locate individuals whom the military might consider a security threat. The military authorities were responsible for identifying and removing the ineligible from the camps and UNHRA acted in an advisory and informative capacity.<sup>28</sup> Persons of any nationality who had collaborated with the enemy or committed crimes against the interests or nationals of the United Nations were specifically excluded. Screening operations caused much apprehension among the displaced persons for they frequently questioned the fairness of the procedure and the competence of the interviewers.

With the advent of IEO, the categorical determination of eligibility of displaced persons for inter-national organization care used by the League of Nations, IECR and UNHRA was abandoned. Mandates of these inter-governmental bodies evolved legal definitions of categories in regard to refugees, viz.,, Nansen refugees, persecutees and the like. Eligibility was determined by whether or not the applicant came within the terms of the definition.<sup>29</sup> Under the new arrangement,<sup>30</sup> the

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<sup>28</sup> UNHRA, Report of Central Headquarters for Germany, Displaced Persons Operations (Washington, D. C.: April 1946), pp. 21-22.

<sup>29</sup> FCINO, Provisional Order No. 42, op. cit., p. 1.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., pp. 1-5.

status of eligibility of an individual is examined on its own merits. It is continuously reviewed in regard to the conditions under which an individual ceases to be the concern of IRO<sup>31</sup> with particular reference to the displaced person's acceptance of the proposals of the Organisation for resettlement or repatriation and the efforts made on the part of the displaced person to earn his own living whenever possible. The decision of eligibility is that of the eligibility officer and the individual has the right to appeal to the Review Board at Geneva Headquarters. Those who are declared ineligible are transferred to the German economy and lose the right of emigration and resettlement through IRO. This new procedure has brought about a great deal of consternation within the displaced persons' camps. According to the most recent Report of the IRO Eligibility Review Board, "The number of persons involved in all appeals received and pending is estimated at 15,000 to 20,000."<sup>32</sup>

Unfortunately, displaced persons' camps inevitably become refuges for imposters, collaborators, criminals, Nazi party

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<sup>31</sup> United Nations General Assembly, A/28/L, op. cit., Part I, Section D, (d) and (e).

<sup>32</sup> IRO, IRO News Digest No. 16, op. cit., p. 4.

affiliates and SS personnel. As an illustration<sup>33</sup> on beginning our work in one of the southern Bavarian camps, we were introduced to Mrs. A. who served as our interpreter and general aid. She was an exceptionally charming person and very interesting. She had spent several years traveling and at one time had been connected with our organization. Not only was she an expert linguist but she knew how to work with people. It was through much of her untiring efforts and ability that the young people of this camp had such a fine recreational and educational program. A few weeks after our departure from the camp, we learned that a small but incriminating SS tattoo was discovered on her arm pit. It led to an extensive investigation by the screening team and she was removed from the camp.

### III. REPATRIATION

Since the displaced persons problem came into existence, voluntary repatriation has been urged.<sup>34</sup> The feeling among those working with these people has been that any displaced

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<sup>33</sup> Taken from the reports written by Marjorie Dickerman. (October 1946 Report).

<sup>34</sup> UNHRA, UNHRA at Work No. 8, op. cit., p. 24.

person, not in conflict with his government, would be better off working on his own soil for the rehabilitation of his homeland than he would be in a displaced persons' camp where his potentialities daily diminish.

More than five million displaced persons returned to their native land during the five months following V-E day. Three hundred thousand were repatriated in the next five months but from then on the number steadily decreased.<sup>35</sup> Many factors have handicapped repatriation;<sup>36</sup> the following have been the most influential: the releasing of adverse propaganda by public information sources outside of Germany; the failure of national governments to make authoritative statements regarding conditions in the homelands and what assistance would be provided the displaced person upon his return; and the uncertainty as to the ultimate disposition of the displaced persons problem.

Official information from governments regarding conditions in the homelands was ardently encouraged. Personal contacts between camp inmates and former inmates have been arranged, either by having representative repatriates return to their

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<sup>35</sup> UNHRA, The Story of UNHRA, op. cit., p. 42.

<sup>36</sup> UNHRA, Report of Central Headquarters for Germany, op. cit., pp. 9-18.

camps to answer questions or by sending delegations of displaced persons to their countries of origin to bring back information to the camps. Personal letters between the camp inhabitants and their friends and relatives in the home countries have been somewhat helpful. However, there has been a tendency for the displaced persons to feel that these friends and relatives are under pressure to write favorably. Representatives of the countries of nationality have had the opportunity to present their points of view in the camps but no one has ever been required to attend these meetings or to confer with the representatives. Regardless, the number of people repatriated is only approximately one-third that of the increment of the camp population because the births so greatly exceeded the deaths.<sup>37</sup>

As part of the repatriation program, a food ration plan was inaugurated in the summer of 1946 particularly for the displaced Polish nationals.<sup>38</sup> This plan provided food for sixty days after they returned to Poland. It gave the refugees a feeling of security so that they could devote their time to resettling in their home communities without immediate concern over food. Furthermore, it served as a basis for cooperation

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<sup>37</sup> Report of a Sub-Special Committee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, op. cit., p. 59.

<sup>38</sup> L. W. Charley, "Displaced Persons," Contemporary Review, 167:208, April 1947.



between the home governments and the authorities sponsoring repatriation. More than ninety-four thousand returned to Poland from Germany and Austria under this plan.<sup>39</sup> A similar drive the following spring was not as successful.

PCIRO was of the opinion that the granting of food bonuses had not brought about any perceptible results. Nevertheless, at the first meeting of the IRO General Council in September 1948,<sup>40</sup> it was decided that displaced persons choosing to return to their homelands would be given a twenty day supply of food as an aid in re-establishment. This decrease from the sixty day supply was considered justifiable in view of improved conditions in the countries of origin.

Although repatriation appears highly desirable and is facilitated in every possible way, it has been concluded by all those concerned with the problem that the groups remaining in the camps consist almost entirely of those who believe they cannot go home safely.<sup>41</sup> Consequently, repatriation seems to be no longer a solution to the problem.

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<sup>39</sup> UNHRA, Report of Central Headquarters for Germany, op. cit., p. 103.

<sup>40</sup> IRO, IRO News Digest No. 16, op. cit., p. 2.

<sup>41</sup> L. S. Charley, op. cit., pp. 208-9.

## IV. RESETTLEMENT

With the prospect of repatriation diminishing, resettlement is increasingly important as a means of solving the displaced persons problem. The difficulty is to find homes for these non-repatriables in countries where there will be an opportunity for a normal livelihood and where they will not adversely affect the economy of the people among whom they settle.

Until September 1946, every effort was made to urge and aid the people to return to their own soil. With the realization that some would not go home, the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees initiated resettlement programs.<sup>42</sup> Certain Latin American countries were first to indicate their interest. Missions were sent to South America to investigate resettlement and employment opportunities and agreements were concluded with Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Paraguay<sup>43</sup> and Venezuela. Brazil and Venezuela promptly sent selection missions to Europe and in May 1947, 861 refugee immigrants sailed from Bremerhaven for Brazil and 814 for Venezuela in June 1947.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Report of a Sub-Special Committee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, op. cit., pp. 61-2.

<sup>43</sup> Although no formal commitments were made, Paraguay received a number of settlers sponsored by the Mennonites.

<sup>44</sup> Report of Sub-Special Committee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, op. cit., p. 61.

Other formal agreements or understandings were also entered into with the governments of Canada, United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Holland, Argentina, Morocco and Tunisia. Norway, although not included in the agreements, took four hundred Jewish displaced persons.<sup>45</sup>

Under PCIRO and later under IRO, these programs have been continued and new plans have been made for the extension of resettlement operations. Immigration arrangements have been made for admission in Australia, Switzerland and Sweden. Negotiations are being continued with South Africa, Mexico, Turkey, San Domingo and Algeria.

Under PCIRO, it was found that the conditions in South America for some of the immigrants were not up to minimum standards so that further detailed surveys of living and working conditions for these people were made. Movements were temporarily suspended. IRO will not resettle displaced persons in doubtful conditions merely to enable a reduction in its load of care and maintenance.

The governments accepting displaced persons are pledged to respect the immigrants' rights, to give them an opportunity for citizenship, to refrain from departing them for failure to

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<sup>45</sup> Katherine Glover, "The DP's Gain is Norway's Gain," Survey Graphic, April 1948, p. 195.

make a living, to see that employment is provided and that there is no discrimination as against its own nationals in terms of work conditions, wages and the right to join a union. Furthermore, the countries agree to admit dependents of an unaccompanied immigrant when he is able to support them.<sup>46</sup>

PCIRO took over three United States Army transports from IGCR.<sup>47</sup> They are primarily cargo ships used as such during the war and since have been somewhat modified to accommodate passengers. The internal conversions for service were at the expense of PCIRO as was the operating cost which has now been assumed by IRO. However, financing of the movements are subject to particular arrangements between IRO and the government concerned. The ships now sail quite regularly between Europe and South America, Canada, New York and Australia.

In May 1948, PCIRO chartered five, four-motored, fifty-eight passenger aircraft from Airworks Limited for transport of refugees from Germany to Canada.<sup>48</sup> These planes shuttle

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<sup>46</sup> United Nations Economic and Social Council, Report on the Progress and Prospect of Repatriation, Resettlement and Immigration of Refugees and Displaced Persons, E/816 (Lake Success, N. Y.: United Nations, 1948), pp. 26-7.

<sup>47</sup> Report of a Sub-Special Committee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, op. cit., p. 63.

<sup>48</sup> United Nations, United Nations Press Release IRO/64 (Lake Success, N. Y.: Department of Public Information, 1948), p. 1.

across the North Atlantic at the rate of twenty-five round trips monthly. In a large number of mass movements of displaced persons, IRO provides transportation on chartered ships and planes or obtains blocks of space for surface transportation on commercial vessels. In any case, movements are frequently held up for months due to lack of transport space.<sup>49</sup>

IRO assists when difficulties arise relating to the inability of an individual to become self-supporting and to legal protection after the immigrants arrive at their destinations.<sup>50</sup>

The national resettlement programs have varied.

Belgium was the first to offer a large scale resettlement plan. She agreed to accept 40,000 displaced persons to work in the labor-short coal mines.

A letter<sup>51</sup> by Le Delege en Belgique of PCIRO describes how the resettlement program operates in Belgium:

The displaced persons sign a contract to work for two years in the mines with the same rights and privileges as the Belgian workers,—salaries, right to affiliate with the union of their choice and advantages of social security. Three months after their arrival, if the

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<sup>49</sup> United Nations Economic and Social Council, E/816, op. cit., p. 41.

<sup>50</sup> IRO, IRO News Digest No. 12, op. cit., p. 1-6.

<sup>51</sup> Letter received by E. W. Dickerman, 7 September 1948 from the IRO Delegation in Belgium.

director of the mine is satisfied with their work, their families may join them. If their conduct is without reproach, they are permitted to reside permanently in Belgium with their families.

If, for any physical reason, they are unable to work in the mines, they are given work in other branches of Belgian industry.

More than 20,000 men have already arrived in Belgium on this basis. Some have been unable to adjust to the situation and others have found the work in the mines too hard so they have returned to Germany to the displaced persons' camps where they hope to have the opportunity to emigrate to another country. Of the 20,000 some 5,000 have returned to Germany.

The United Kingdom received 40,455<sup>52</sup> displaced persons as volunteer workers in British industry. The majority emigrating to the United Kingdom were selected under the immigration plan developed by the government known as the "Westward Ho" program.<sup>53</sup> This program was designed to meet outstanding demands in essential undamaged industries. Because of the large number of war-damaged dwellings, which have not been replaced, it was necessary to select single men and women without dependents. Nevertheless, some working married couples were

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<sup>52</sup> IHO, Resettlement Progress (Washington, D. C.: United States Office for IHO, 1948), p. 1.

<sup>53</sup> Ernest Davies, "Operation Westward Ho," United Nations World, May 1948, pp. 34-37.

admitted as well as men with non-working dependents. Every care was taken to see that these workers and their dependents were given facilities to make their life in the United Kingdom a happy one. Carefully organized arrangements through a chain of transit hostels were made for their movement. On arrival they were given money for their immediate needs and were provided with free board and lodging as well as pocket money until the Ministry of Labour found employment for them. After five years' residence these people can apply for naturalization on exactly the same terms as other resident foreigners.

Unfortunately, the resettlement programs all tend to single out the best human material.<sup>54</sup>

Canada specializes in the selection of single men and women—men to work in the lumber and heavy industries as well as sugar beet fields and on railroad maintenance—women to work as domestics and in textile mills. One hundred Polish girls were admitted for employment by a member of Canadian Parliament in his spinning mills.<sup>55</sup>

France desires trained or untrained volunteer miners primarily, but technical and unskilled labor for the construction

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<sup>54</sup> United Nations Economic and Social Council, E/316, op. cit., pp. 33-8.

<sup>55</sup> Jessamine Fenner, "Flight to Freedom," Survey, January 1948, p. 25.

of hydroelectric dams are also in demand. It was specified that no intellectuals, business men or unproductive professions were to be represented.

Switzerland accepts only persons who were qualified to work in hospitals and mental homes.

Venezuela prefers farmers and farm workers but accepts a few others.

Argentina is partial to Italians but admitted many ex-Polish soldiers with their Italian wives.

If such selectivity is permitted to continue, the prospects of resettling the remaining displaced persons will be poor. Only individuals of low earning power will be left in the camps and thus, the problem of resettlement will be accentuated.

Until the Displaced Persons' Act of 1948, the United States accepted only the displaced persons eligible under the standard immigration quotas allotted their native land. With the passing of the Act on June 30th, two hundred five thousand displaced persons were to be admitted. The Act set the Baltic quota at forty percent, the former quota at thirty percent and excluded persons who became displaced after December 22, 1945.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> IRO, IRO News Digest No. 13, op. cit., pp. 2-6.



The first shipload to enter the United States under Congressional approval sailed on October 12, 1948 from Fraser-haven with 826 people aboard.<sup>57</sup> Voluntary agencies, employers and relatives guaranteed them jobs, homes and transportation upon arrival to their destination. Movement to the United States is expected to reach a peak of eight to nine thousand a month until the quota is filled by 1950.

Although the resettlement programs are gradually being carried out, 800,000 displaced persons are still awaiting resettlement. This number may seem insignificant in the light of the total 7,000,000<sup>58</sup> which have gone back or have been repatriated to their homelands since the end of World War II. But only 256,000<sup>59</sup> displaced persons were returned to their countries of origin or resettled in countries of adoption by PCIRO in the year ending June 30, 1948. At this rate it would take about three years to find permanent homes for the remaining 800,000. At the first meeting of the IRO General Council in September 1948, it was decided that because of financial

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<sup>57</sup> New York Times, October 17, 1948.

<sup>58</sup> New York Times, May 13, 1948.

<sup>59</sup> IRO, IRO News Digest No. 15, op. cit., p. 1.

limitations it would be necessary to plan to resettle the remaining displaced people by June 30, 1950.<sup>60</sup>

The outlook for resettlement in the coming year is brighter. Great Britain, France and Belgium expect to admit 70,000 and an equal number are expected to find homes in Latin American countries. In addition, the United States plans to admit 205,000 in the next two years.

Table X presents the planned resettlement potential.

Figure I shows what has happened to the European displaced persons since the war's end.

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<sup>60</sup> IRO, IRO News Digest No. 16, op. cit., p. 2.

TABLE X  
 PLANNED RESETTLEMENT POTENTIAL<sup>1</sup>  
 (July 1, 1947 to July 1, 1948)

Destination	Planned or agreed numbers	Already moved	Net potential	Probably <sup>2</sup> realized
South America				
Argentina	6,000	1,000	4,900	
Brazil	4,100	3,500	600	
Chile	3,000		3,000	22,960
Peru	2,500		2,500	
Venezuela	9,000	3,500	5,500	
Europe				
Belgium	75,000	17,000	58,000	26,200
France	75,000	6,000	69,000	11,900
Switzerland	200		200	
Sweden	500		500	
Netherlands	8,000	1,500	6,500	4,000
British Commonwealth				
Canada	25,000	2,850	22,150	27,300
United Kingdom	80,000	13,000	67,000	58,500
Australia	7,500		7,500	7,740
North Africa				
Morocco	3,000	225	2,775	730
Tunisia	3,000	225	2,775	
Various (covered by individual immigration sponsored as below):				
IHO	12,000	3,000	9,000	26,000
Voluntary agencies	14,400	3,600	10,800	
Totals	328,200	55,500	272,700	185,230

<sup>1</sup> Report of a Special Committee of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, Displaced Persons and the International Refugee Organization (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1947), p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> United Nations Economic and Social Council, Report on the Progress and Prospect of Repatriation, Assettlement and Immigration of Refugees and Displaced Persons (Lake Success, N. Y.: United Nations, 1948), p. 13.

FIGURE I

WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO EUROPEAN D.P.S SINCE THE WAR'S END		
RETURNED OR REPATRIATED TO THEIR NATIVE LANDS		7,000,000
TOTAL D.P.S:		RESETTLEMENT BY COUNTRIES
Already Resettled		
225,500		
<div> <div>100</div> <div>500</div> <div>1000</div> <div>1500</div> </div>		
Awaiting Resettlement		
800,000		
<div> <div>200</div> <div>400</div> <div>600</div> <div>800</div> </div> <div> <div>1000</div> <div>1200</div> <div>1400</div> <div>1600</div> </div> <div> <div>1800</div> <div>2000</div> <div>2200</div> <div>2400</div> </div> <div> <div>2600</div> <div>2800</div> <div>3000</div> <div>3200</div> </div>		
	Palestine	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX 58,700
	Britain	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX 48,900
	U.S.	XXXXXXXXXXXXX 32,800
	Belgium	XXXXXXXXXXXX 27,300
	France	XXXXXX 16,500
	Canada	XXXXX 13,800
	Others	XXXXXXXXXXXX 27,500

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSIONS

The European displaced persons are the unfortunate victims of various compulsory and voluntary migrations which took place in Europe during World War II period. UNRRA, IOCR, PCIRO and IRO were established temporarily as international agencies to deal with the displaced persons problem created by these migrations. UNRRA had the task of giving care and maintenance to the displaced persons and of trying to repatriate them. IOCR was concerned only with plans for resettlement. PCIRO, under the IRO Constitution, took over from its two predecessor organizations the responsibilities of maintaining, of repatriating and of resettling the remaining displaced persons. IRO succeeded PCIRO.

But today there are still about 800,000 displaced persons in Europe. Most of these people either refuse to return to their countries of origin for fear of persecution or cannot be absorbed by the war devastated countries in middle European economies. The core of the problem and the hope in the future is to resettle these displaced persons in western Europe and overseas.

IRO was the last of four international agencies to be established to solve the problem. Its present budget and resources are strained to the utmost; yet, its mandate is so broad

that there is little to suggest that it can complete its assignment within the given funds and time as long as the current political conflicts continue on the Continent.

Camp care is, at the best, only a temporary expedient and not a solution to the problem. Camps were a convenient way of congregating people to care for them and remove them from the confusion that existed within Germany after V-E day. Today the camps keep the displaced persons occupied and provide the minimum requirements for existence. But, if these people are not to become permanent international wards, with little or no opportunity to become self-supporting, an effective resettlement program is needed to move these people from the camps to lands where they can make use of their skills and thereby become self-sustaining and self-respecting individuals.

Although an estimated two to three hundred thousand displaced persons are living on the German economy, it cannot possibly absorb the remaining 531,060 displaced persons now living in the IDP camps. These people have very limited, if any, resources other than their own mental and physical abilities. Consequently, such a large number of them could hardly be expected to become self-sufficient on an economy which is so disrupted that it cannot support its own population.

Furthermore, the presence in Germany of thousands of displaced persons constitutes a tremendous burden on the local economy. They not only present a problem in rehabilitation but also make it more difficult to take care of the numerous German displaced persons and refugees now living in congested areas.

Every effort has been made to urge and aid the displaced persons to return to their own soil but, of those remaining in IRO camps, the number who believe they can and want to return to their native land is a small proportion of the total. Nevertheless, IRO is stressing repatriation for it recognizes that such people would be happier on their native soil working toward the rehabilitation of their homeland than they would be in a foreign country starting life anew. As long as the nations which have assumed responsibility for taking care of the displaced persons continue their present policy of avoiding coercion in repatriation, repatriation offers little hope as a solution to the problem.

With the potentialities of the displaced persons in camps for becoming useful, productive citizens diminishing, with the inability of the German economy to absorb the remaining displaced persons, with repatriation no longer being able to offer a solution, resettlement must be the answer. However, up to now, the resettlement programs have all tended to select and retain only those people who can contribute most to the

economy of the receiving country. If resettlement is to solve the problem, it must be facilitated and wholeheartedly entered into by all the countries not suffering from over-population and war devastation. Such countries must accept a fair share of the displaced persons regardless of age, physical fitness, sex, nationality, education and skills. But before it can be said that the final solution of the European displaced persons problem is in sight, the governments of various countries as well as public opinion will have to show a much greater interest in and understanding of the displaced person.



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The records and documents of UNRRA and IRO were referred to primarily in the body of the thesis. Other sources were used sparingly and only when the data therein checked with the records and documents above. Although the other references were good, they appeared to be contradictory in many cases to each other and to the publications of UNRRA and IRO.